



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE FOOD OF LIFE AND THE SACRAMENT.

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT AND PAGAN PARALLELS.

THE problem of the origin of death according to the religious solution of the Hebrews is treated in a legend preserved in the second and third chapters of Genesis. After the creation of man, Yahveh-Elohim planted a garden irrigated by four rivers and "full of trees pleasant to the sight and good for food ; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." The account continues :

"And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

"And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat :

"But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it : for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

Here follows the report of the creation of animals and of Eve the woman taken from Adam's ribs. The story continues :

"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden ?

"And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden :

"But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.

"And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die :

"For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

"And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was

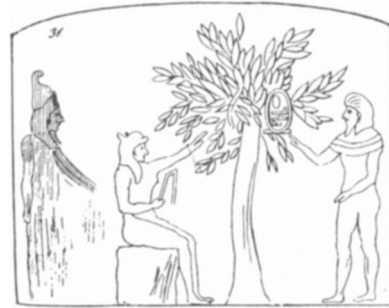
pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

"And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

The home of this legend undoubtedly is Chaldea, for the names *Eden*, as well as the rivers of Eden¹ are Chaldean, and the tree of life plays an important part in Chaldean mythology.² In fact, excavators have been so fortunate as to discover a great number of ancient stone tablets containing the original versions of Old Testament legends: the story of the Deluge; the destruction of cities by rain and fire; the creation of the world in six days; the adventures



CHALDEAN SEAL CYLINDER.
(BRITISH MUSEUM.)



PICTURE DISCOVERED IN THE
RUINS OF THEBES.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STORY OF THE FALL.

of King Sargon, who in his infancy (like Moses) was exposed in a basket of rushes on the river, but was saved to become the hero of his nation, etc. We have therefore every reason to believe that the story of the origin of death is also a Chaldean story, especially as the tree of life plays an important part in the sculpture of all the nations of Mesopotamia; and an illustration of a man and a woman under

¹ Eden is the Accadian *edinna*, the Euphrates is the *Purral* (or curving water), Hiddekel is Hid-Idikna (Hid means river in Accadian). The Hebrew Sabbath is an ancient Accadian institution; *Sabattu* means "day of rest." Assyrian texts speak of it as "a day of rest for the heart," "a day of peace," "a day on which work is unlawful," or as "the completion of labors," etc.

² The story of the creation in Gen. i.-ii. 3 differs in many essential features from the report in Gen. ii. 4 et seq. Both are ultimately derived from Chaldæa but the former is a younger importation. The latter had time to be adapted to the country and may therefore be called the Canaanitic account.

a tree, and a serpent behind the woman, has been discovered on an ancient Assyrian cylinder. A similar picture was discovered in the ruins of Thebes by Herr Norden, who published it in his *Journey to Egypt* (Table LVIII.).¹ Considering the close connexion in which Egypt and Assyria stood at the age when the tables of Tell-el-Amarna were manufactured, it is quite probable that the idea of the origin of death being caused by the eating of some fruit should have been transferred to Egypt, and we are still inclined therefore to regard the Chaldean origin as the most probable.

We know that the tree spirit was worshipped in Egypt on account of its soul-preserving power.

The Egyptian soul is conceived in a twofold way as the *ka* or double, i. e., the form of a man's personality² (his *Ebenbild*), and as the *ba* or consciousness, the spirit that animates him. The *ka* was represented as a statue or image of a man, and each person had his individual *ka*, which was conceived as a kind of astral body and was thought to bestow "protection, intelligence, purity, health and joy" upon its bodily representative during its earthly pilgrimage.³ The *ba* was pictured as a hawk with a human head, which after death was supposed to take its flight up to Osiris or to hover near the body in the tomb.

How prominently the worship of the tree spirit was connected in ancient Egypt with the punishment of the soul appears from the fact that these three ideas, the *ba*, the *ka*, and the tree spirit, were the centre of the family religion of Egyptian life. Says Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie:⁴

"Closely linked with the belief in the *ka* and *ba* was the worship of the tree spirit. In many representations we have the tree goddess in various forms,—human, cow-headed, or shown as a mere arm emerging from the branches of the

¹ The picture is here reproduced from Bishop Münter's work, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*, Altona, 1825.

² In Hebrew *תְּמוּנָה*, "likeness" or "image," translated by the Septuagint *εἰκών*. The passage in Gen. i. 26 means that Adam was shaped in the *ka* of Elohim.

³ The symbol of the *ka* is two arms bent at right angles with hands stretched upwards. See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, English edition, p. 307.

⁴ *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 33–35.

sycomore, and pouring out blessings on the kneeling *ka* and the bowing *ba* bird. The sustenance of the parts of the dead was attributed to the beneficent tree spirit, and hence the widespread veneration of the sycomore in every home, and more particularly about Memphis with its vast cemetery of Sakkara, where the great sycomore of the south was a noted feature.

"The focus of domestic worship then appears to have been a niche or false door in the wall of the principal hall, usually in the west wall like the false doors of tombs; this was dignified with steps in some cases, and painted with the objects of adoration, the ancestral double and spirit, *ka* and *ba*, and the tree-genius who preserved them."



THE BA VISITING THE BODY.¹

Professor Petrie adds :

"It seems that a tree with its thick hiding foliage and deep shade was thought to be a particularly suitable abode for both human and divine spirits; and 'the sycomore of the south' is called the living body of Hathor."

Without attempting to criticise Professor Petrie's explanation, we venture to suggest that the tree was probably worshipped in prehistoric times for the shelter which it gave and the fruits which it offered. If the soul after death could not find a tree, it was supposed to be without protection and sustenance, and so the spirit of the tree was invoked to grant an asylum to the homeless spirits of the deceased.

¹ From the Ani papyrus.

Our illustration which is reproduced from Lenormant's *Histoire de l'Orient*, Vol. III., p. 202, represents the *ba* under a persea tree gratefully accepting the drink of life from the Nut goddess



NUT FEEDING THE BA WITH WATERS OF LIFE FROM HEAVEN.
ISIS AND NEPHTHYS WITNESS THE SCENE.

of heaven residing in a tree spirit. Two goddesses carrying a flower-crowned staff in their right hand and the key of life in their left, witness the scene.



THE CORONATION BAPTISM OF KING
RAMESSES III. (Lübke's *Gesch. d.*
Plastik, p. 39.)*¹

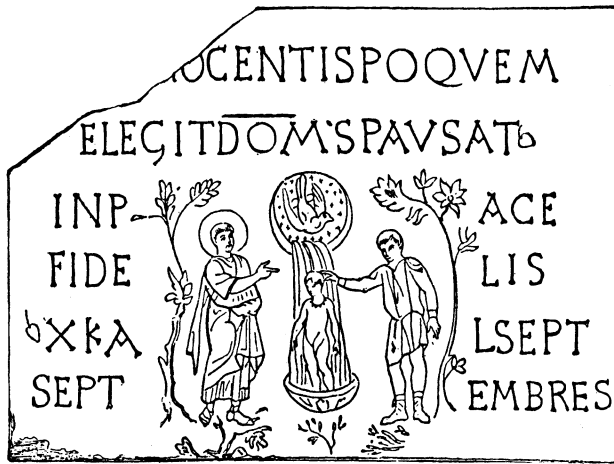
That the idea of the water of life was not limited to the conception of drinking it, but also of bathing in it, can be proved by an ancient Egyptian bas-relief which represents the baptism of King Rameses III. by the gods Thoth and Horus, the former representing the Egyptian Logos-deity, the latter, god the son, the child of Osiris and Isis, the avenger and the resur-

rected sun-god. There can be no doubt about the significance of

¹ The author is indebted to J. L. Corning of Munich, formerly American consul, for all the illustrations marked with a star. They have been reproduced from hand drawn copies, being part of his valuable MS. collection of pictures illustrating the kinship of religious myths.

the liquid which these deities pour out upon the sun-adorned head of the king, for it is represented by streams of Egyptian crosses (†), the so-called keys of life.

This baptism with the water of life remained an important part of the coronation ceremony of Egyptian kings down to Roman times, for even the emperors, as Augustus and others, are represented in the monuments as receiving this baptism with the water of life at the hands of the Egyptian gods.



BAPTISM OF CHRIST WITH WATERS FROM HEAVEN.
Tombstone of Aquileja.¹

The most modern form of the water of life is the myth of the fountain of youth which during the age of the discovery of America was supposed to be in Florida.

Stories travel, especially religious stories; and so we may assume that the idea of the golden apples of Idun which we find in Northern mythology is the same story as the legend of Genesis indicated by the idea of the tree of life. We read in the Edda that enemies of the gods had stolen Idun's immortality-giving apples, and the task devolved upon Thor to bring them back to Asgard;

¹ Reproduced from F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Vol. I., p. 164.

for the gods began to grow old, and would have suffered death unless they regained the food upon which their immortality depended.

The story of Hercules and the golden apples of the Hesperides is the Greek version of the legend of the tree of life, and it is by



HERCULES PLUCKING THE APPLE.*¹

no means accidental that Greek pictures of Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides remind us vividly of the story of Adam and Eve in Eden.

¹ Relief on a marble tablet at Benevento. The serpent is wound about the trunk living, and one of the Hesperides lies sleeping beneath. Copied from Donii's *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, Tab. VII., n. 2.

We must call attention to the fact that there are two kinds of trees—life-giving and death-giving trees. The tree of life is mentioned only twice in Genesis: when Adam had eaten of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, God said: "Behold, Adam has become as one of us, knowing good and evil; and now lest he put forth his hand and take also of the *tree of life* and eat and live forever, therefore Yahveh-Elohim sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken." (Genesis, Chap. iii., 22, 23.)

When Proserpine, the goddess of spring, was carried off by Pluto, the god of death, Venus offered her a pomegranate to eat,



HERCULES IN THE GARDEN OF THE HESPERIDES.

An antique vase-picture representing the poisoning of the serpent and the delivery of the fruit on a branch.*¹

and so made Proserpine subject to the king of death. That was a fruit from the tree of death, and Venus, the goddess of love, offered it to Proserpine. Pomegranates play an important part in the Eleusinian mysteries.

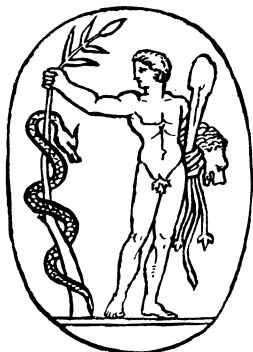
Similar stories of life-sustaining and death-imparting apples, or other fruits, occur in many other myths, in the stories of Hercules, in the German fairy tales,² and also in the folklore of savages in various parts of the earth.

¹ From Gerhard's *Ak. Abh.*, Tabel XX., fig. 1.

² The wicked step-mother tries to kill little Snowwhite (*Schneewittchen*) with a poisoned apple.

The Book of Genesis does not mention what kind of fruit the tree of life bears. In Assyrian sculptures it has the appearance of a pine cone, except that it is very large; it might be a pineapple were it not on a tree. In European folklore the fruit is commonly called an apple, and Christian art always represents the tree of the knowledge of good and evil as an apple-tree. We cannot doubt that the idea, which, so far as we know, was first pronounced by St. Augustine, is derived from Greek mythology, the apple being the symbol of Venus.

Biblical interpreters have never failed to point out the connexion between the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and sexual-



HERCULES PLUCKS THE
FRUIT OF THE TREE, THE
SERPENT HANGING LIFE-
LESS ON THE TRUNK.
(Antique gem.)



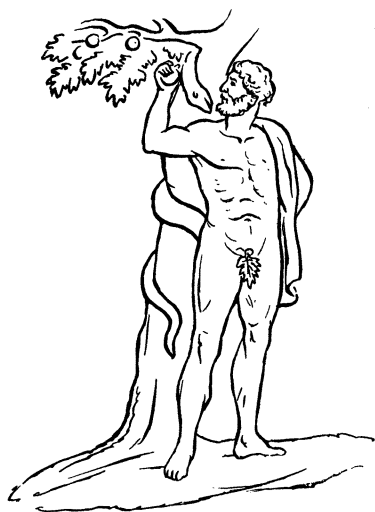
A MEDAL OF EMPEROR
ANTONINE.*

Copied from Millin's *Gallerie
Mythologique*, fig. 445.

ity. Adam and Eve were unconscious of good and evil before they ate of the fruit, and knew that they were naked after having partaken of it. Both Gnostic and Christian writers regard the whole story as an allegory in which the fall of man was identified with sensual pollution. And thus the idea originated that immortality could be regained only by perfect abstinence, or virginity. This is plainly expressed in Christian and Gnostic scriptures. In the gospel of the Egyptians, we read that immortality depends upon the perfect restoration of innocence. Jesus answers Salome's question, "How long shall Death reign?" by saying: "As long as ye women give birth, for I came to make an end to the works of

woman." Similar ideas reverberate through the canonical New Testament, and can be traced through the literature of the early Christians.

The connexion of death with birth is as natural as it is true. The Buddhists speak of all compounds as being subject to dissolution, and thus everything that is born is doomed to die. A beginning necessitates an end and only that which is without a beginning can be without end.



PICTURE ON AN ANCIENT GEM.*¹
From Spence's *Polymetis*.



THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE SERPENT
ON AN ANTIQUE CAMEO.
(From Montfaucon.)*²

¹ Mr. J. L. Corning quotes Higgins, who says in his *Anacalypsis*: "Here is the serpent called Heva tempting Adam. Spence calls it a drawing of Hercules, after he has killed the serpent; but why is the serpent up in the tree, instead of lying dead on the ground? Where are the club, the lion's head and feet? The serpent is evidently whispering in Adam's ear, while he is taking an apple. Parkhurst has given a passage from Clemens which proves that the Greek Bacchanals were well acquainted with the myths of Eve."

² We owe this picture as all the other illustrations of the tree in the garden of Hesperides to Mr. J. L. Corning. It has been reproduced by Montfaucon who says of it: "It was preserved for several centuries in one of the most ancient churches of France, and passed for an image of terrestrial paradise to represent the fall of Adam." The inscription which Montfaucon regards as being modern and in Hebrew is, according to Higgins, an allusion of the biblical myth and should read: "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise." (See his *Anacalypsis* I,

But the comfort of all primitive religions is not so much the attainment of eternity as of regeneration. The wish for immortality therefore leads to the conception of resurrection.

Dionysus, the emancipator, the liberator, the saviour, is the life and happiness-bringing god of Greece. He rescues Kora, which is but another name for Proserpine, the life-spending vegetation, the daughter of Demeter, the personification of the earth, from the power of death, and celebrates with the rescued goddess his marriage feast.



HERCULES IN THE GARDEN OF THE
HESPERIDES.

Picture on an antique water urn.



AN ANCIENT PAGAN SCULPTURE.

Reproduced in Montfaucon's first volume of *L'Antiquité Expliquée*.^{*1}

pp. 272-273). But all this is mere guesswork. The inscription is illegible in the reproduction and is probably not less unintelligible in the original cameo. It seems to us very doubtful whether it is Hebrew, and may be, for all we know, an example of Ephesian letters. We would add that the cameo, if genuinely antique, indicates a version of the myth which cannot be traced in the Greek poetry now extant. The man is not Hercules, but Zeus, as indicated by the thunder bolt. The female figure is probably one of the Hesperides but may be Miverva, or Juno, or Aphrodite, or even Proserpine. The animal which jumps up at the trunk of the tree is obviously intended to play a significant part, for the attitude of the woman indicates that she intends to stoop toward it. The part which the five animals play that appear underneath the main design is doubtful; they do not help in the explanation, but make the intention of the whole composition still more obscure.

¹ This picture does not represent Hercules in the traditional costume with club and lion's fur, which goes far in proving that it does not represent the garden of the Hesperides but some kindred subject. But for the absence of the golden fleece it might be Jason and Medea.

The symbol of the Dionysian cult is the wine which on account of its exhilarating effect is regarded as the water of life. The god makes his appearance in a triumphal procession with shouts of *εὐοι!* riding on a donkey. The thyrsus of the Bacchic revellers carries on its top a cone, the same fruit in the very same form that appears as the fruit on the tree of life on Assyrian illustrations.

There is no saviour among the Greeks the events of whose life are not somehow connected with the acquisition of the fruits of the



HEBE OFFERING HERCULES THE CUP OF IMMORTALITY.*

A vase painting copied from Inghirami's *Monumenti Etrusche*, Tab. XXXVI

tree of life and the drink of immortality. Thus Hercules, the national hero of Greece, is reported to have gone to the garden of the Hesperides and plucked the life-giving apples from the tree guarded by a serpent. But there is this difference, that according to the Greek version Hercules deceives the serpent, while in the Biblical account the serpent deceives Adam.

Judging from the illustrations preserved on vases and bas-reliefs, the traditions of the myth, such as we know them through

Greek authors, must be greatly mutilated and corrupted. Many incidental features of these illustrations remain unexplained, and it is quite possible that if we knew all the obliterated features of the legend, we could better define its relation to, and trace its connexion with, the ancient Assyrian story of the tree of life.

The legend of the tree of life is closely related to an ancient Oriental ritual which was a partaking of the food of life, partly in commemoration of the dead, partly as a sacrament celebrated for the purpose of acquiring the mysterious power of a resurrection.

The Chaldean story of the origin of death has been discovered in the tables of Tell-el-Amarna, and in the Library of Asurbani-pal, in Nineveh, a fragment of the story being in the possession of Professor Scheil, who published an article on the subject under the title, "A Page of the Sources of Berosus."¹

According to the tables of Tell-el-Amarna, as reported by Gunkel,² Adapa had done some wrong to the storm bird representing the south wind, and was cited before the tribunal of Anu, the God of Heaven. Ea advises him how to gain the favor of the two gods that serve as gate-keepers of heaven. As soon as they had ushered him into the presence of Anu, some food of death would be offered him which he should not eat; water would be handed him which he should not drink; a garment would be given him which, however, he should don; oil would be offered him, with which he should anoint himself. When Adapa came to heaven everything happened as Ea had told him, with the exception that Anu at the intercession of Tammuz and another deity took pity on Adapa. So Anu did not offer him food of death and water of death, but food of life and water of life; which, however, following the behest of Ea, Adapa refuses, and thus foregoes the boon of eternal life.

Adapa is a Babylonian Adam; he is called "The Seed of Mankind," and his characteristic feature is "wisdom," perhaps in the same sense that modern zoölogists speak of the species *homo sa-*

¹*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et l'Archæologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes.* Vol. XX., 1898. "Une page de Bérosee."

²Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 420 et seq. Comp. p. 148, footnote 3, and p. 151.

piens. Adapa is apparently, as Professor Zimmern, of Leipsic, suggests, the Alaparos of Berosus, the confusion of the Greek Λ and Δ being easily explained by the similarity of their forms.

A literal translation¹ of the Adapa myth reads as follows:²

[Several lines at the beginning are missing.]

"... The Southwind (blew and dipped him under water), into the mansion (of his master) he immersed him:

" 'O, Southwind, (thou hast) done me harm! Thy wing I shall break!'

"As soon as he had spoken thus with his mouth, the wings of the Southwind were broken. Seven days the Southwind no longer blew over the earth.

"Anu spoke to his messenger Ilabrat: 'Why does the Southwind since seven days no longer blow over the earth?'

"His messenger Ilabrat answered him: 'My Lord! Adapa, the son of Ea, has broken the wings of the Southwind.'

"When Anu heard this word he cried out: 'Help!' He sat down on his throne...

[Here is missing, Ea's advice given to Adapa.]

"... Ea... Heaven... he requested to bring him a dress of mourning

"... he put it on.

"... [to Anu] the King now must go.

"[When thou ascendest] to the [Heaven and when thou approachest the throne of Anu], at the throne of Anu there will be [Tammuz and GIS.ZI.DA].

"They will see thee and ask thee: 'For whose sake do you look like that, Adapa, for whom do you wear a dress of mourning?'

"[Thou must reply]: 'Two gods have disappeared from our earth; therefore I do so.'

"[They will ask thee]: 'Who are the two gods who from the earth have disappeared?'

"[Thou must reply]: 'Tammuz and GIS.ZI.DA.'

"Then they will look at one another and wail, but then a good word to Anu they will speak, and will make that Anu will look kindly on you.

¹ Translated from E. T. Harper's German translation of the stone tablets in Hermann Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 240 ff. We omit the division of lines, which are as much as possible preserved by the German translator as they are in the stone tablet. The original is not always metrical, yet in some places unmistakably betrays rhythm. The tablets were written at the request of King Amenhotep or his mother, an Assyrian princess, the Queen Dowager Tye, for the purpose of imparting religious information, and it is probable that the copyist made slight changes in the Assyrian poem for the purpose of rendering the sense of the myth more intelligible to the Egyptian reader.

² *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II., p. 420 ff. See also Zimmern, *S. S. Times*, Philadelphia, June 18, 1892.

"When thou appearest before Anu, one will offer to thee food of death. Eat not of it! Water of death they will offer thee. Drink not of it! A garment they will offer thee. That, however, don! Oil they will offer thee: anoint thyself with it! The counsel which I give to thee do not despise, the word which I have spoken to you hold fast.

"Then the messenger came to Anu [saying]: 'Adapa [is here who] has broken the Southwind's wing.'

"[Anu replied]: 'Let him appear before me.'

"... of the sky he made lie down, to the sky he ascended. When he arrived in heaven he approached the throne of Anu. There were standing at the throne of Anu, Tammuz and GIS.ZI.DA. When they beheld Adapa they cried out, 'Help!' [adding]: 'Sir! For whose sake dost thou look like that, Adapa, for whom dost thou wear a garment of mourning?'

"[He replied]: 'From the earth two gods have disappeared, therefore I wear a garment of mourning.'

"[They asked]: 'Who are the two gods who have disappeared from the earth?'

"[He replied]: 'Tammuz and GIS.ZI.DA.'

"Then they looked at one another and wailed.

"When thereupon Adapa turned to Anu the king, and when Anu beheld him he said to him: 'O, Adapa! why hast thou broken the wings of the Southwind?'

"Adapa answered to Anu: 'My Lord! For the house of my master I caught in the midst of the ocean fishes. The sea was as smooth as a mirror. Then the Southwind blew and dipped me under. Into the house of my lord he immersed me. In the wrath of my heart...'

"[Tammuz] and GIS.ZI.DA spoke a good word (for him) to Anu; then his wrathful heart was assuaged.

"[He said]: 'Why did Ea allow an impure man to see of the heaven and of the earth the most inner secrets, made him great, and bestowed a name on him? But we, what can we endow him with? Food of Life fetch for him, that he may eat!'

"Food of Life they fetched for him, but he did not eat. Water of Life they fetched for him, but he did not drink. A garment they fetched for him, he put it on. Oil they fetched for him, that he might anoint himself.

"Then Anu looked at him and wailed over him: 'O, Adapa, why didst thou not eat, why not drink? Thus thou shalt not have (eternal) life...'

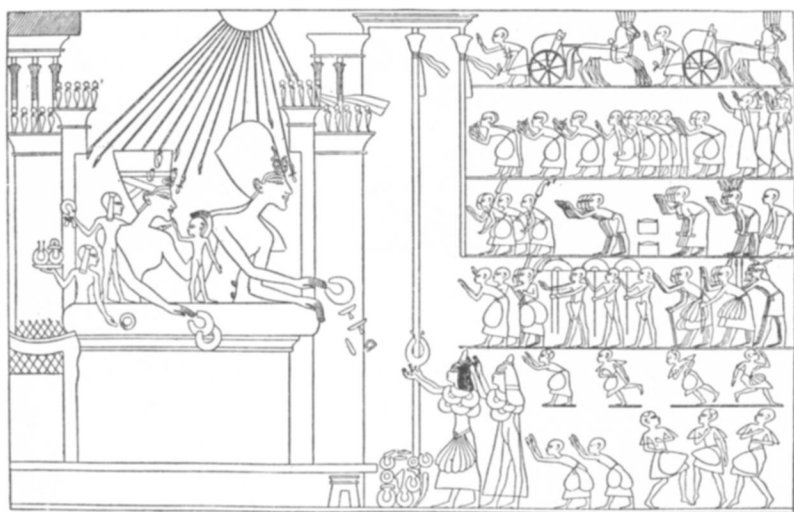
"[Adapa said]: 'Ea, my Lord, has commanded me: Eat not, drink not!'

"... he returned to his country." [The concluding lines are broken off.]

The discovery of Assyrian stone tablets in Egypt was quite a surprise and seemed at first sight very strange; but the mystery has been solved, and we know now that in the second millennium



**KING CHU-EN-'ETEN ; HIS CONSORT THE QUEEN, AND HIS SIX DAUGHTERS
MAKING SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS TO THE SUN.**



**KING CHU-EN-'ETEN PROTECTED BY THE SUN-GOD, REPRESENTED AS MAKING THE
PEOPLE OF EGYPT PROSPEROUS. From the Monuments of Tell-el-Amarna.¹**

¹ Meyer, *Gesch. Aeg.*, cf. Springer, *Handb. Alterth.*, p. 26.

B. C. Assyrian was the international language of the East, so much so that the Egyptian vicegerents of Canaan wrote their reports to Pharaoh, the sovereign of these districts in those centuries, in Assyrian and not in Egyptian! Assyrian was the official language of the Orient in politics and general culture. Now it happened that Amenhotep III., one of the kings of the vigorous dynasty of Thebes who expelled the Hyksos and greatly extended



DEATH-MASK OF CHU-EN-'ETEN.
(Petrie.)



STATUE OF CHU-EN-'ETEN.
(Raget.)¹

the boundaries of Egypt so as to include Canaan, married an Assyrian princess, Queen Tye, an ardent worshipper of the sun as the sole true God. After the king's death, she seems to have played an important rôle at court. Her son, Amenhotep IV., was exclu-

¹ We here reproduce the cast and statue of King Chu-en-'eten in evidence of the faithfulness with which he is portrayed in the monuments. The small chin seems to indicate a weakness of character and may account for the failure of his far seeing, perhaps too far-sighted, monotheistic reform.

sively under her control. Obviously at the suggestion of the queen dowager he changed his name to Chu-en-'eten, which means "splendor of the solar disk," and built a new capital near the modern town of Tell-el-Amarna. The religious reformation of King Chu-en-'eten was not a lasting success. The people still clung too tenaciously to their traditional polytheism and did not take kindly to the foreign monotheistic sun-worship. Three successors of Chu-en-'eten, S'aanacht, his son-in-law, the priest 'Ey, one of his intimate friends, and third in order Tuet'anchamun, a convert to the new faith, were succeeded in about 1320 B. C. by the powerful Har-em-heb, the leader of the discontented, the reactionary polytheistic party, whose counter-reformation wiped out every trace of the monotheistic Assyrian sun-worship.

Judging from statues and bas-reliefs, Chu-en-'eten was of a sickly disposition and of a weak character. Had he been less fanatical and more circumspect, he might have reconciled the powerful Egyptian clergy; but lacking the necessary discretion he finally failed through the general discontent created by his innovations. Prof. Adolf Erman in his *Life in Early Egypt* says (Engl. tr., p. 46-47):

"We shall always lament the sad end to Chu-en-'eten's reformation; for though it was a good thing for the country that the state of disorder should cease, yet this victory of the old orthodox party sealed the fate of the Egyptian religion, —no one again attempted a reformation, and the religious conceptions of the nation were narrowed."

So much in explanation of the discovery of Assyrian stone tablets in Tell-el-Amarna.

The legend of the food of life and the food of death is the story of Tammuz, the Lord or Adon of the Asiatics and the Adonis of the Greek. It is the God who dies and whose death is lamented but who is resurrected again under great rejoicing. The prophet Ezekiel complains about the Jewish women who took part in the Tammuz festival (ix. 14), and we know of Astarte, the Queen of Heaven, that she was worshipped with offerings of cakes and of drink. The prophet Jeremiah rebuked the Egyptian Jews for their idolatry, but they answered him:

"Then all the men which knew that their wives had burned incense unto other gods, and all the women that stood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying,

"As for the word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee.

"But we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we, and our fathers, our kings, and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem: for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil.

"But since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine."

Sacramental eating was connected with almost all Oriental religions and the rite symbolised the attainment of life immortal. It is perhaps no accident that the Israelites who, though living among nations that believed in immortality, pass the doctrine over in the sacred writings with silence, express an aversion for sacramental food-offerings as idolatrous.

The story in Genesis is apparently mutilated. In the Chaldean report we have a tree of life and a tree of death; food of life and food of death; water of life and water of death. This contrast is lost sight of in Genesis, and the strange thing is that according to Genesis the forbidden tree which is spoken of as the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, proves to be the tree of death, while in the myth of the Tables of Tell-el-Amarna it is the food of death which Adapa is warned against, and the food of life that is offered him; and he foregoes the boon of immortality because he refuses to eat of it.

SACRAMENTAL EATING AND CANNIBALISM.

In the Homeric age the Greek offered libations to the gods, and the form in which they sanctified the cup reminds one strongly of the Christian sacrament. When old Priam proposed to ask the slayer of Hector for the body of his beloved son, he prayed to Zeus with the sacramental cup in hand, the scene being thus described by Homer (*Il.*, XXIV., p. 305-309):

“When he had sprinkled with water, his wife a chalice him handed.
 There in the courtyard standing he prayed ; and looking to heaven
 Took he the wine and, uplifting his voice, spoke loudly as follows :
 ‘ Zeus, our father, thou ruler of Ida, supremest and greatest,
 Oh, let Achilles receive me to-day with compassion and mercy ! ’ ”¹

The Romans had an ancient custom of celebrating love-feasts, called *charistia*, to which none but kin and relations were invited. If some quarrel had arisen between relatives, it could more easily be adjusted when the sanctity of the table and the merriment of the company made every one better inclined to mutual good-will.²

We need not assume that the Roman *charistia* originated under Assyrian, or Persian, or Egyptian influence ; we are perfectly justified in regarding the custom as indigenous, for it seems to date back to the early days of the republic. The bread for daily use was regarded with a pious awe, as it is still in many parts of Europe. Bread represents life, and it is not a senseless ornament when we found the loaves of ancient Rome marked with a cross,³ the symbol of life.

The celebration of the Tibetan ceremony for obtaining “immortality” has been called by the missionary Huc “the Buddhist Eucharist” on account of its resemblance to the Christian sacrament. The ceremony is of great interest ; as it is not much known, we quote a report of it from Mr. L. A. Waddell’s *Lamaism*, pp. 444-448 :

¹ Translated in the meter of the original, which reads as follows :

Νιψάμενος δὲ κύπελλον ἐδέξατο ἥς ἀλόχοιο.
 εὐχεται ἔπειτα στὰς μέσῳ ἔρκεϊ, λείβε δὲ οἶνον
 οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδὼν, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ἤνθα·
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθὲν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε,
 δός μ’ ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἔλθεῖν ἥδ’ ἐλεεινόν.

² “Convivium etiam solemne majores (Romanorum) instituerunt idque charistia appellaverunt, cui praeter cognatos et affines nemo interponebatur, ut siquid inter necessarios querela esset orta, apud sacra mensae et inter hilaritatem animorum fautoribus concordiae adhibitis tolleretur.” *Val. Max.*, II., 1, 8.

³ The cross, or rather the figure of two intersecting lines, was a salutary sign, but it was not called a “cross” until after the reign of Constantine crucifixion had been abolished.

"This sacrament is celebrated with much pomp at stated periods, on a lucky day, about once a week in the larger temples, and attracts numerous votaries. Crowds throng to the temple to receive the coveted blessing. Its benefits are more particularly sought in cases of actual illness, and when death seems imminent; but every village must have it performed at least once a year for the life of the general



THE BUDDHIST EUCHARIST.
Reproduced from Waddell's *Buddhism*
of Tibet.

community, and after its performance any prolongation of life is credited to this service; while a fatal result is attributed to the excessive misdeeds of the individual in his last life or in previous births.

"The chief god addressed is Buddha *Amitayus* or *Aparamita*, 'The god of infinite Life,' or 'The Eternal.' Unlike the Chinese Buddhists, the Lamas never confuse *Amitabha* (the Buddha of infinite Light) with his reflex *Amitayus*; they represent these differently, and credit them with different functions. The other gods specially identified with life-giving powers are 'The five long-Life Sisters,' mountain nymphs presiding over the everlasting snows, and to a less degree the white *Tārā*, and *Ushnisharāni*; and even *Yama*, the Lord of Death himself, may occasionally be propitiated into delaying the day of death.

"The priest who conducts this ceremony for propitiation of *Amitayus* and the other gods of longevity must be of the purest morals, and usually a total abstainer from meat and wine. He must have fasted during the greater part of the twenty-four hours preceding the rite, have repeated the *mantras* of the life-giving gods many times, 100,000 times if possible, and he must have secured ceremonial purity by bathing. The rite also entails a lot of other tasks for the prepa-

ration of the consecrated pills and the arrangement of utensils, etc., and extends over two or three days.

"The arrangements are as follows:

"Upon an altar, under the brocaded dragon-canopy, within the temple or in a tent outside, are placed the following articles:

"1. *Las-bum*, the ordinary altar water-vase.

"2. *Ti-bum*, the vase with pendent mirror and containing water tinged with saffron.

"3. *d Ban-bum*, the 'empowering vase' with the chaplet of the Five Jinas.

"4. *Ts'e-bum*, the 'vase of Life,' special to *Amitayus*, with a banner of peacock's feathers and sacred Kusa-grass.

"5. *Ts'e-ch'an*, or the 'wine of Life,' consisting of beer in a skull-bowl.

"6. *Ts'e-ril*, or the 'pills of Life,' made of flour, sugar, and butter.

"7. *Chi-mar*, or wafers of flour and butter and rice.

"8. *mDah-dar*, or sacred divining-dagger with silk tassels.

"9. *rdor-jehi gzun t'ag*, or the divining-bolt, a *vajra* or thunderbolt-sceptre with eight ridges to which a string is attached.

"In the preliminary worship the pills are made from buttered dough, and the ambrosia or *amrita* (Tib., *dud-tsi* or 'devil's juice') is brewed from spirit or beer, and offered in a skull-bowl to the great image of Buddha *Amitayus*. Everything being ready and the congregation assembled, the priest, ceremonially pure by the ascetic rites above noted, and dressed as in the frontispiece, abstracts from the great image of Buddha *Amitayus* part of the divine essence of that deity by placing the *vajra* of his *rdor-jehi gzun-t'ag* upon the nectar-vase which the image of *Amitayus* holds in his lap, and applying the other end to his own bosom, over his heart. Thus, through the string, as by a telegraph wire, passes the divine spirit, and the Lāma must mentally conceive that his heart is in actual union with that of the god *Amitayus*, and that, for the time being, he is himself that god. Then he invokes his tutelary-fiend, and through him the fearful horse-necked *Hayagriva* (Tamdin), the king of the demons. The Lāma, with this divine triad (namely, the Buddha and the two demon kings) incorporate in him, and exhibiting the forms of all three to spiritual eyes, now dispenses his divine favors. He takes up the *Las-bum*-vase and consecrates its contents, saying:

"*'Om! namo Tathagata Abhi-khila samayasriri hum! Nama candra vajra krodha Amrita hum phat!'*

"Then he sprinkles some of the water on the rice-offerings (*glor-ma*) to the evil spirits, saying, 'I have purified it with *svabhava*, and converted it into an ocean of nectar within a precious *Bbum*-bowl. *Om akaromu-kham! Sarva dharma nantyanutpanna tatto! Om! A! Hum! phat! Svaha!* I now desire to bestow the deepest life-power on these people before me; therefore, I beg you demons to accept this cake-offering, and depart without doing further injury.'

"Here the Lāma, assuming the threatening aspect of the demon-kings, who

are, for the time being, in his body, adds: 'Should you refuse to go, then I, who am the most powerful *Hayagriva* and the king of the angry demons, will crush you—body, speech and mind—to dust! Obey my mandate and begone, each to his abode, otherwise you shall suffer. *Om sumbhani*,' etc. Now, the Lāmas and the people, believing that all the evil spirits have been driven away by the demon-king himself, shout, 'The gods have won! the devils are defeated!'

"The Lāma then proceeds to secure for himself the benedictory power of life-conferring. He first meditates on 'the guardian-deities,' murmuring thus: 'The upper part (of the divine abode) is of thunderbolt tents and hangings; the lower part of earth-foundation and adamantine-seat; and the walls are of thunderbolts. The entire building is a great tent, protected by precious charms, so that the evil spirits can neither destroy it, nor can they gain entry. *Om! vajra rakhya rakhya sutra tikhtha vajraye svaha!*'

"Then the magic-circle (*mandala*) is offered up, saying:

"'If I fail to refer to the successive Lāma-saints, my words and deeds will count for nothing. Therefore must I praise the holy Lāmas to secure their blessing towards the realisation of my plans. O holy *Padma-sambhava*, in you are concentrated all the blessings of the present, past, and future! You are the Buddha of the great final Perfection (*Maha-utpanna*) who beheld the face of Lord *Amitayus*. O saint possessed of the gift of undying life, of life lasting till the worlds of re-births are emptied! You hid away from us, in the snowy regions, the revelation upon the true essence of the five hundred 'Obtainings of Life.' The one which we now perform is 'the iron palace of the attainment of life' (*Ts'e-grub lc'ags-kyi-pho-bran*), and is extracted from *d Kon-mch'og-spyi'-dus*. It was discovered by the saint '*Dsah-Ts'on-snin-po* in the cave where you hid it; and this mode of endowing a person with life has come down to me through many generations of saints. Now, O Lord *Amitayus* and the host of radiant gods! I beg you to sustain the animal beings, vast as the starry host, who now, with great reverence and praise, approach you. *Om a hum!* O holy shrine of our refuge! *Hri!* O Hosts of the Bright World of Light! *Pad-ma t'od-phren-rtsal-vajrasa-mayaja siddhi phala hum!*'

"Then here is repeated '*Ts'e-gug*,' or 'The Invoking of Life,' thus:

"'O Lord *Amitayus*, residing in the five shrines whence glittering rays shoot forth! O! *Gandharva* in the east! *Yama* in the south! *Naga raja* in the west! *Yaksha* in the north! *Brahma* and *Indra* in the upper regions! and *Nanda* and *Taksha* in the lower regions! And especially all the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas! I beg you all to bless me and to gratify my wishes by giving me the gift of undying life and by softening all the injuries of the harmful spirits. I entreat you to grant life and implore you to cause it to come to me. *Hri!* I beg your blessings, O Buddhas of the three times. (*Dipankara, Sākyā Muni, and Maitreya.*)'

"At this stage the celestial Buddhas, Bodhisats, and other gods are now supposed to have consecrated the fluid in the vase and transformed it into immortal

ambrosia. Therefore the priest intones the following chant to the music of cymbals: 'This Vase is filled with the immortal ambrosia which the Five celestial Classes have blessed with the best Life. May life be permanent as adamant, victorious as the king's banner. May it be strong like the eagle (*Gyun-drun*) and last forever. May I be favored with the gift of undying life, and all my wishes be realised.'

"*'Buddha! Vajra! Padma! Karma, Kapalamala. Hri maharinisaayu siddhi phala hum! Om A Hum vajra Guru Padma siddhi ayukke Hum nija!'*

"The priest now bestows his blessing as the incarnate *Amitayus* as well as the other gods of longevity, by laying-on of hands, and he distributes the consecrated water and food to the assembled multitude. When the crowd is great the votaries file past the holy Lāma. In smaller congregations the Lāma, with the *Ti-bum* vase in hand, walks along the rows of kneeling worshippers near the temple door, and pours a few drops of the holy fluid into the hands of each votary. With the first few drops the worshipper rinses his mouth, and with the next few drops he anoints the crown of his head, and the third few drops are reverently swallowed.

"Then the Lāma brings the vase of Life and places it for an instant on the bowed head of each of the kneeling votaries, reciting the spell of *Amitāyus* (*Om Amaranī jīvantiye svaha*), which all repeat. Then the Lāma touches the head of each one with the power-conferring vase; and afterwards, in similar manner, with the divining-dagger, saying: 'The life which you now have obtained is unfailing like the *vajra*-armour. Receive it with reverence! As the *vajra* is unchangeable, so now is your life. *Vajra rakhya rakhya svaha!* Worship *Amitayus*, the god of boundless Life, the chief of all world-rulers! May his glory come, with virtue and all happiness.' And all the people shout, 'Glory and all-happiness!'

"Each worshipper now receives from the skull-bowl a drop of the sacred wine which he piously swallows; and each also receives three of the holy pills, the plateful of which had been consecrated by the touch of the Lāma. These pills must be swallowed on the spot. They are represented as beads upon the vase which the image of the god of Infinite Life holds in his lap.

"The Lāma then takes a seat on a low throne, and the votaries file past him offering him a scarf and any money presents they may have to make; the majority pay in grain, which is piled up outside the door of the temple. Each then receives a benediction from the Lāma, who places his hand on their heads and repeats the spell of *Amitayus*; and on its conclusion he throws over their shoulder a knotted white scarf (*Tsim-tu*) from a heap of consecrated scarves lying at his side. The colors of the scarves are white for the laity and red for the priests."

It is possible, we may even say probable, that the idea of food of life (be it as the fruit of the tree of life, or as a drink of life, or

as meat, or cakes, or bread of life) found expression at an early and prehistoric age in some religious ritual, for we know that the Indians as well as the Iranians celebrated sacraments which indicate the prevalence of such a conception of food. The soma and butter offerings of the Aryas in India and the Myazda sacrifice of Zarathustra remind us strongly of the use of the Hoddentin among the Apaches.

Captain John Bourke has collected interesting facts on the use of the Hoddentin among the Indians which show its close analogy to the Christian sacrament of the Lord's supper. He says in the "Medicine-men of the Apache"¹:

"One of the first things to be noticed among the Apache, in this connexion, was the very general appearance of little bags of buckskin, sometimes ornamented, sometimes plain, which were ordinarily attached to the belts of the warriors, and of which they seemed to be especially careful.

"The bags spoken of revealed when opened a quantity of yellow colored flour or powder, resembling cornmeal, to which the Apache gave the name of 'hoddentin,' or 'hadntin,' the meaning of which word is 'the powder or pollen of the tule,' a variety of the cat-tail rush, growing in all the little ponds and cienegas of the Southwest.

"In dances for the benefit of the sick the medicine-men in the intervals between chants applied this yellow powder to the forehead of the patient, then in form of a cross upon his breast, then in a circle around his couch, then upon the heads of the chanters and of sympathising friends, and lastly upon their own heads and into their own mouths.

"No Apache would, if it could be avoided, go on the warpath without a bag of this precious powder somewhere upon his person, generally, as I have said, attached to his ammunition belt. Whenever one was wounded, hurt, or taken sick while on a scout, the medicine-man of the party would walk in front of the horse or mule ridden by the patient and scatter at intervals little pinches of hoddentin, that his path might be made easier. As was said to me: 'When we Apache go on the warpath, hunt, or plant, we always throw a pinch of hoddentin to the sun, saying "with the favor of the sun, or permission of the sun, I am going out to fight, hunt, or plant," as the case may be, "and I want the sun to help me."'

"Upon attaining the age of puberty, girls fast one whole day, pray, and throw hoddentin to the sun.'

"When an Apache dies, if a medicine-man be near, hoddentin is sprinkled upon the corpse. The Apache is buried in the clefts of rocks, but the Apache-

¹ *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887-1888, pp. 499 ff.

Mohave is cremated. 'Before lighting the fire the medicine-men of the Apache-Mohave put hoddentin on the dead person's breast in the form of a cross, on the forehead, shoulders, and scattered a little about.'

"Hoddentin seems to be used to strengthen all solemn compacts and to bind faith.

"The myths of the Apache relate that Assanut-li-je spilled hoddentin over the surface of the sky to make the Milky Way."

Captain Bourke proves by a great number of quotations that analogous rites existed among many other nations, Negroes, the ancient Indians, Egyptians, and Europeans, and that on account of the conservatism in religious affairs the tendency prevails to retain for sacrificial meals some prehistoric food such as manna, unleavened bread, or wafers. Sacred breads and cakes are known all over Europe and the custom of eating them on special festive occasions dates back (as Grimm points out in his *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. I., p. 63) to prehistoric times. The Mexicans celebrated "the festival of the wafer, or cake," in honor of Huitzilopochtli. Bancroft says:

"They made a cake of the meal of bledos which is called 'tzoalli,' which was afterward divided in a sort of communion."—*Native Races*, Vol. III., p. 323.

Concerning the prevalence of the notion of the healing power of prehistoric food among other nations than the Indians Captain Bourke quotes an instance from the ancient Japanese fairy tales, in one of which a hare flayed by a crocodile is given the following advice:

"Go quickly now to the river mouth, wash thy body with fresh water, then take the pollen of the sedges and spread it about, and roll about upon it; whereupon thy body will certainly be restored to its original state."

Our sketch of the sacred food of life would be incomplete, did we not mention the cannibalistic ceremonies of those savages who partake of the flesh and blood of a human sacrifice; and it is strange, though perhaps natural, that these terrible rites, wherever performed in honor of a deity of vegetation, that is to say, the nourishing power of nature, are frequently connected with the idea that the god himself must be partaken of as food. Such customs still prevailed in Central America when the Spaniards conquered

Mexico and seem to have been all but common at an early stage in the evolution of mankind. We quote one instance only which is typical of many others. Prof. T. G. Müller says¹:

"The main sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca was the youngest and most beautiful prisoner of war or slave, whose duty it was to represent the god in his youthfulness. He was worshipped the whole year as a god. Twenty days before the festival he was married to four beautiful girls, and five days before the festival the most opulent feast was given him. On the day of the ceremony, he accompanied the image of the god which headed the procession, and was then sacrificed in a temple especially built for the purpose, with all due reverence, about a mile outside of the city, beyond the lake. The heart cut out from his breast was presented to the image, and then to the sun; but the body was not, as is the case with other sacrifices, thrown down over the steps of the temple, but carried down by the priests. Noblemen and priests received the arms and legs of the sacrifice as a sacrificial meal. The youths devoted to his worship performed a dance to the god, and the virgins offered honey cakes called 'holy flesh,' which was destined as a prize to the victors in the races which took place on the temple stairs."—P. 617.

The custom of sacrificing and eating a God-incarnation is not limited to the indigenous peoples of the New World but can be traced among the Negroes as well as among the primitive inhabitants of Asia, and there the practice was continued down to the age of the Chaldæan civilisation. Thus Berosus tells us that "during the five days of the festival called the *Sacæa*, a prisoner condemned to death was dressed in the king's robes, seated on the king's throne, allowed to eat, drink, and order whatever he chose, and even permitted to sleep with the king's concubines. But at the end of five days he was stripped of his royal insignia, scourged and crucified."²

This Babylonian rite is apparently, as Mr. Fraser suggests, a further evolution of a more ancient custom that is still practised among the savage tribes of Africa, according to which the king, who is believed to be the incarnation of the deity, usually of life, or of the sun or heaven, is sacrificed in his best years and before his physical powers can give out. Mr. Fraser says:

¹ *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen.*

² See J. G. Fraser, *The Golden Bough.*

"We must not forget that the king is slain in his character of a god, his death, and resurrection, as the only means of perpetuating the divine life unimpaired, being deemed necessary for the salvation of his people and the world."

With the advance of civilisation the old custom was modified. Mr. Fraser says:

"When the time drew near for the king to be put to death, he abdicated for a few days, during which a temporary king reigned and suffered in his stead. At first the temporary king may have been an innocent person, possibly a member of the king's own family; but with the growth of civilisation, the sacrifice of an innocent person would be revolting to the public sentiment, and accordingly a condemned criminal would be invested with the brief and fatal sovereignty."

Some ceremonies of Tibetan Buddhism indicate that the Tibetans celebrated in prehistoric times cannibalistic love feasts which had a religious significance. We quote the following condensed report from an article on "Death and Resurrection"¹:

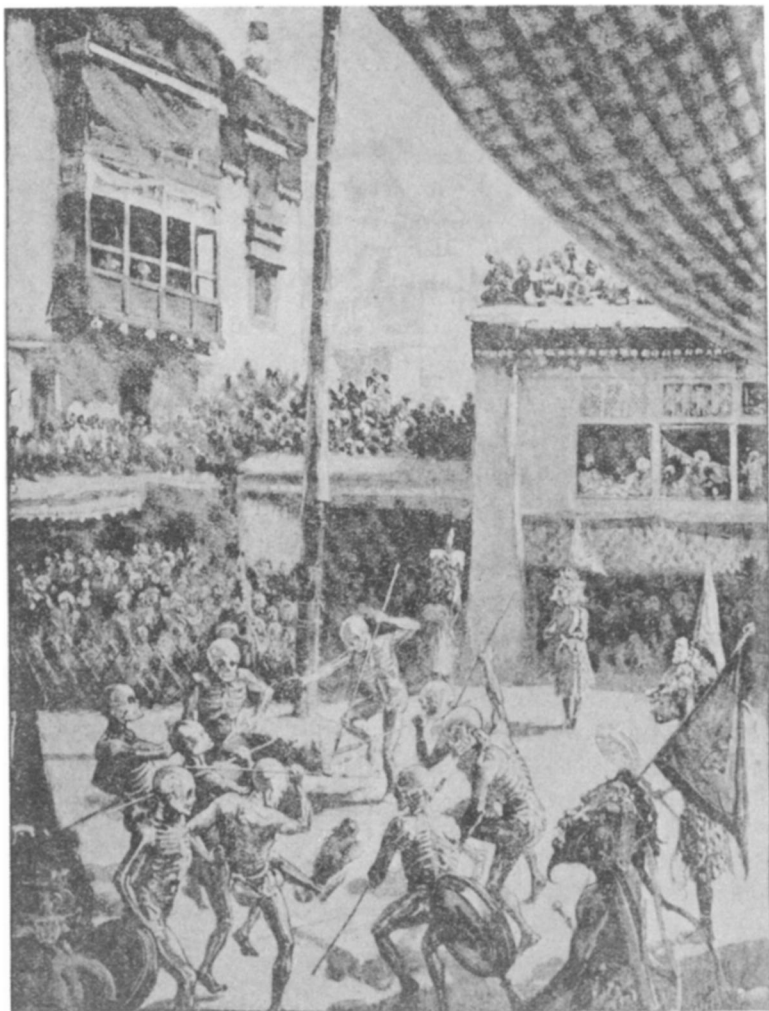
"Very strange performances are the death-dances of the Tibetan mystery-plays, one of which is performed on the last three days of the year and is called 'the ceremony of the sacrificial body of the dead year.' The effigy of a man made out of dough as life-like as possible and having inside a distinct heart and all the entrails filled with a red fluid, is placed by four cemetery ghouls in sight of the numerous spectators in the centre of the yard, and at once bands of skeleton-ghosts rush upon the corpse to attack it. This is the time to display the necromantic power of Lamaism over the evil spirits. Monks and lamas come forth and go through a series of ceremonies, the magic effect of which keeps the fiends away. But a more formidable devil with great horns and possessed of superior powers makes his appearance and takes the field. Whereupon a saint or an incarnation of Buddha himself comes to the rescue, sprays flour on the enemy, makes mystic signs and utters incantations. The skeleton-ghosts and the big fiend grovel before him and implore mercy. He graciously yields to their supplications and allows them to partake of a sacramental meal. While they kneel before him he gives to each one of them a little flour to eat and a drink out of a vessel of holy water.

"This concludes the day's performance.

"The corpse, however, is not destined to be preserved. On the next day the fight is renewed, and after a cannonade with blessed mustard-seed and other exorcisms, an awful demon appears whose title is 'the holy king of religion.' He wears the head of a bull, a dagger in the right and the effigy of a human heart in the left hand. This strange figure seems to represent the main deity of the ancient Tibetans, when they were still in the habit of offering human sacrifices, not in effigy

¹ Published in *The Open Court*, Vol. XI., pp. 496-498.

but in reality. The demon god has been converted by Buddha and become a protector of Buddhism. He is now satisfied with human sacrifices in effigy, and the



DANCE OF THE DEATH-DEMONS IN HEMIS MONASTERY.¹

Preparatory to the sacrificial eating of the effigy of a man representing the dead year.

man made of dough, being supposed to be an enemy of Tibet, is surrendered to him. He dances round the figure of the man on the ground, stabs him, binds his

¹ Reproduced from E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*, London, 1893.

feet in a snare, and at last cuts off his limbs, slits open his breast, takes out his bleeding heart, lungs, and other intestines. At this moment a horde of monsters falls upon the remnants of the dismembered dough man and scatters them in all directions. The pieces are collected again in a silver basin and the Holy King of Religion, eating a morsel, throws them up in the air. This is the signal for the *finale*: the pieces are caught and fought for by the demons, and at last the crowd of spectators joins the general scramble for pieces of dough, representing human flesh, which they either eat or treasure up as talismans.

"Similar ceremonies are executed by different sects in different ways, but all of them indicate survivals of practices which antedate the institutions of Buddhism."

Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, the learned Egyptologist, has repeatedly called attention to the ancient customs of god-eating and of religious cannibalism. The killing of the deity which in civilised times was done in the shape of its representative animal, was an essential part of the ancient worship. The statue of Amen was covered with the slaughtered ram's skin and "the actual remains of the bulls found in the Serapeum by Mariette show that in the nineteenth dynasty they were consumed by the worshippers."¹

We have unequivocal evidence that in the earliest times of Egypt parts of the bodies of the dead were eaten by their children which was apparently done as an act of piety for the sake of preserving the souls of the deceased in the surviving generation. An explanation of this strange custom is given by Professor Petrie in an exceedingly interesting article entitled "Eaten With Honor."² And since it is impossible to surpass this prominent scholar either in the presentation of facts or his exquisite humor, we make the following extensive quotations:

"Prejudice is strange. I suppose the average British house-keeper would rather travel in the same carriage with a gambler, or a rake, than with a cannibal; the former two she might call 'gentlemanly,' but her skirts would be gathered closer around her when she brushed past the latter. It is not by any means only the horror of presupposed murder; but, without that being in question, it is the use of human flesh as food which to modern respectability seems ghastly. There is no code of Mrs. Grundy about it, because it is outside of the very limited expe-

¹ *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

² Published in the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1897, pp. 819 ff.

riences of that worthy lady. No, it is sheer mental prejudice against strangeness, which puts even the innocent and affectionate cannibal below the moral offender. Yet a large part of mankind are cannibals, and still more—perhaps all—have been so, including our own forefathers, for Jerome describes the Atticotti, a British tribe, as preferring human flesh to that of cattle.

“Does the intuitionist object to the principle? Yet he agrees that intuition varies from land to land and age to age; that each people are only responsible for acting up to the code of their own time. And the successors of the Stoics should be the last to live on hollow prejudices.

“Does the utilitarian object? Yet one main purpose of the custom is utility; in its best and innocent forms it certainly gives the greatest happiness to the greatest number. And the successor of the Epicureans should be the last to object to the mental and physical pleasures of preventing corruption by eating good meat.

“When, a short time ago, it came to light that a civilised people, at about 3000 B.C., who had exquisite handicrafts, whose children played with choicely wrought toys, while their fathers carried on a wide-spread trade in the Mediterranean—when it appeared that these people habitually cut the heads from their dead and ate some portion of the bodies, no one would credit the notion. Every sort of explanation was started; but the facts could not be gainsaid, and the broken marrow-bones and piles of ribs and vertebræ told plainly how the Libyan invaders of Egypt had honored their beloved dead.

“And now this year it is found that one of the grandest and most capable people that ever lived—those who built the splendid masonry of the Pyramids, at once the greatest and most highly finished works of man; who carved some of the most lifelike statues, who organised society and labor on a great scale, who treasured a delicate moral feeling—that many of these people reverently buried the bones of their dead after elaborately removing all the flesh. Why they did so we can hardly doubt when we look at the ways of other races.

“When we classify the motives of cannibalism that are recorded, we find that in more than half the races mental motives prevail, and in rather less than half the physical motives of hunger or pleasure. We may roughly classify the motives thus:

	PER CENT.
Honor, kindness, future good, love.	20
To obtain strength or magic results	19
As a ceremony, or to acquire position.	10
As a punishment	5
	<hr/> 54
From hunger or need of food.	18
From preference as food	28
	<hr/> 46

The higher motives of honor and kindness prevail mostly in Asia, Australia, and South America, but seem to be unknown in Polynesia, North America, and Africa. The Thibetans considered it a glorious burial for their honored elders to be eaten;

some Australians also eat the dead with the greatest and most solemn honor ; and the Tupi and Capanahuas in South America did likewise. Besides this, it is often a matter of kindness and love for the dead. The Cucumas of South America said that 'it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth.' And who will say that they are wrong? Such seems to have been the main sentiment in that quarter of the world, as it appears again among the Botocudos, Tapuyas, Mayoruna, Mundrucu, and Guyanis. The idea of protecting the dead from decay and putrefaction, which would befall them in the ground, and giving them a kindly and affectionate disposal among their friends and kin, is as far removed as possible from any brutality or baseness. In Central Australia the Yulugundis have a still more touching feeling ; when lovers are parted by death, the survivor ensures that they shall be united, in death if not in life, by consuming part of the dead. In Asia also we find the Samoyeds and Ostyaks saying that the elders will have a better future if eaten ; and a tribe of the Gonds near the source of the Nerbuddah eat those who are fatally ill or aged as 'an act of kindness.' And in ancient times 'the Massagetae and Derbices thought it a most miserable end to die of sickness, and killed their parents, relatives, and friends who had grown old, and ate them, preferring to do this themselves rather than leave it to worms,' as Jerome tells us. It is thus evident that there is a widely-spread sense of protecting the beloved dead from the chilling loneliness and corruption of the grave by thus dividing the body among the survivors. We are so apt to think that delicacy of feeling must be unknown among those who differ much from ourselves, that we always underrate the motives of lower races. Often we may find a far higher and deeper sympathy shown by them than in anything to which we are accustomed. . . .

"Other motives, for the benefit of the living, are also usual. The idea that eating the heart of a lion will make a man brave, or the legs of a deer will make him swift, is a common one in many parts of the world. And thus, by the same process of analogy, the Queenslanders will eat a great warrior who has died, to obtain his valor, or a dead baby in order to get its youth, the old people thus seeking rejuvenation. Among many other Australians this analogy is also powerful. In North America the Tlinkets thus consume the bravest who have fallen, and in the south the Yamas suck out the marrow from the bones in order to acquire the soul. Many other tribes in both America and Africa eat the flesh from reasons vaguely described as religious or superstitious. Certainly they expect to acquire some power and virtue by the custom. . . .

"Lastly, the eating is a matter of hatred, as a punishment to criminals, among the Tatars, the Aghora in India, the Battaks of Borneo, and other peoples ; this is probably to prevent the dead returning to be avenged on the living ; as the Greenlanders say that a slain man can avenge himself on his murderer by rushing into him, which can only be prevented by eating a piece of his liver. . . .

"Thus we see that, quite apart from the use of human flesh simply as food, in the majority of tribes the mental desires are prevalent, to honor or benefit the

dead, to obtain their virtues, to acquire ceremonial position, or, lastly, to prevent their haunting the survivors.

"The great moral objection to cannibalism is, no doubt, that it may lead to murder; and this is the special blot on African cannibalism. . . .

"Primitive man was omnivorous in all probability, and had no objection to eating flesh of any kind. Such at least is Dr. Steinmetz's conclusion. . . ." ¹

The drinking of the blood of human victims, who were sacrificed on special occasions and may originally have represented the deity itself, was an ancient institution which was still practised now and then in historical times. Herodotus (III., 4-11), speaking of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, tells us of Phanes of Halicarnassus how he betrayed the country to Cambyses and concludes his report with a description of a terrible blood covenant which the Greek mercenaries of the Egyptian king celebrated:

"Then they brought on the sons of Phanes, one after the other, and killing them let their blood run into the mixing bowl, which done they poured wine and water to it, and when all their allies had drunk of the blood they began the battle." ²

Sallust also tells us that Catilina and his band practised a similar bloody rite when they took the oath not to betray the secrets of their conspiracy. ³

Human flesh and blood being used for sacramental purposes in the interest of preserving life, naturally came to be thought of by the superstitious as the most effective remedy against fatal diseases.

Even in the days of Tertullian the religious rite of drinking blood and eating human flesh, not in a symbolical sense as prac-

¹ "Endokanibalismus" in *Mitth. der Anthropol. Gesellsch.* Wien, XXVI., 1.

² "Μετὰ δὲ ἐγινέοντες κατ' ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων (τοῦ Φάνεω) ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα, διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξεληθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξεφόρεον ἐς αὐτὸν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπικούροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον."

³ Sallust speaks of it as a rumor, but the mere rumor proves that such ideas which are survivals of pristine savage beliefs still haunted the minds of the people in the times of Julius Cæsar. The passage reads as follows:

"Fuerit qui dicerent, Catilinam oratione habita, quum ad iusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde quum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii." Sallust. Catil. 22.

ticed in the Christian sacrament, but literally and actually, was still haunting the minds of the people. Tertullian, addressing in his *Apologeticus* the Pagans, enumerates several instances of Pagan practices and exonerates the Christians of the false accusation of slaughtering and eating an infant at their communion. Tertullian says (*Ap.*, § 9):

“As to meals of blood and such tragic dishes, read—I am not sure where it is told (it is in Herodotus, I think)—how blood taken from the arms, and tasted by both parties, has been the treaty bond among some nations. I am not sure what it was that was tasted in the time of Catiline. They say, too, that among some Scythian tribes the dead are eaten by their friends. But I am going far from home. At this day, among ourselves, blood consecrated to Bellona, blood drawn from a punctured thigh and then partaken of, seals initiation into the rites of that goddess. Those, too, who at the gladiator shows, for the cure of epilepsy, quaff with greedy thirst the blood of criminals slain in the arena, as it flows fresh from the wound, and then rush off—to whom do they belong? those, also, who make meals on the flesh of wild beasts at the place of combat—who have keen appetites for bear and stag? That bear in the struggle was bedewed with the blood of the man whom it lacerated: that stag rolled itself in the gladiator's gore. The entrails of the very bears, loaded with as yet undigested human viscera, are in great request. And you have men rifting up man-fed flesh? If you partake of food like this, how do your repasts differ from those you accuse us Christians of?”

EDITOR.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]